

SHAMANIC LANGUAGE AND THE MEMORY BURDEN: A
COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION OF HUP INCANTATIONS

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ABSTRACT

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Shamanic language and ritual discourse are vital to the culture of many indigenous people in Amazonia. This discourse often involves the use of poetic features to convey verbal artistry and potentially to alleviate the problem of the “memory burden”, or the burden placed on speakers who must maintain and transmit oral texts in an oral tradition. By examining a set of incantations from the Hup people in the Vaupés region of Amazonia, it may be possible to determine a consistent use of poetic features and structural attributes that characterize the genre as a whole. This paper seeks to identify these defining features and contextualize them in terms of both verbal art and the memory burden.

First, I will outline the treatment of memory and shamanic ritual in the context of oral tradition. I will then analyze a set of Hup incantations in order to identify important features and determine the extent of variation of these features along the parameters of the speaker, purpose of the incantation, and category of the incantation. Finally, I will attempt to identify defining attributes of the Hup incantation genre and discuss how these features are relevant both in terms of verbal art and in maintaining oral tradition.

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1. Introduction

Ritual language is a specialized variety of language used when performing rituals or ceremonies; it may differ from a community's day-to-day language in minor ways, such as greater use of poetic devices or different vocabulary, or it may be an entirely different language. These features are significant both in a verbal artistic sense, by representing a community's artistic production and heritage, and in the framework of oral tradition.

The emergence of any sort of oral tradition depends on the performers' ability to navigate "the memory burden", or to somehow ease the difficulty of remembering unrecorded information. Different genres choose to respond to this burden in different ways, and these choices are reflected in requirements of the genre.

One example of this sort of genre is the shamanic tradition of the Hupd'äh¹, an indigenous community in the Northwest Amazon. This study aims to take a comparative approach to the study of Hup incantations as an example of oral tradition and seeks to define the genre and contextualize in light of the broader question of the memory burden. As an unwritten genre with minimal study on the factors involved in transmission and maintenance of the genre, particularly with respect to rigidity or flexibility, the Hup incantation genre is an interesting case study to examine how a tradition might respond to the memory burden.

My analysis begins with a broad overview of the treatment of memory and shamanic ritual in the context of oral tradition, followed by an overview of the incantation genre in Amazonia and a background of the Hup people. Section 3 focuses specifically on a detailed analysis of one Hup

¹ "Hupd'äh" refers to the people as opposed to the language, Hup; the suffix -d'äh indicates plural

incantation, identifying important features within the incantation. The next section broadens the discussion to compare these parameters across a set of four additional texts in order to identify defining attributes of the genre. Two versions of the same incantation performed by different speakers are then compared to address the degree of intraspeaker variation involved in the genre.

2. Oral Tradition and the Memory Burden

Ritual language is present across languages and cultures, but the tradition can respond to the difficulty of remembering unwritten content (or content that is written but not readily available) in different ways. The “memory burden” is perhaps most recognizable in regards to epic narrative, a performative form of ritual narrative ranging from the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh* in 1700 BC to traditions in Siberia and Papua New Guinea today. The Homeric epics are familiar examples of long-form story-telling recounting a culture’s myths and histories. Each of these traditions, and the speakers within them, have had to make use of strategies to enable speakers to flawlessly remember lengthy, detailed narratives without written or recorded texts.

The spectrum of responses to the memory burden is vast, ranging from word-for-word memorization to extreme creativity, where much of the storytelling is left up to the individual speaker. These extremes, and the varying degrees between them, draw on strategies to lessen the burden for the speaker in different ways. Highly formulaic instances of epic narrative narrow the words and constructions a speaker may choose during the performance, and thus “limit the linguistic resources of a speaker when that speaker’s working memory is under pressure” (Kuiper 2). Dynamic traditions lessen the number of required features in the story-telling, potentially requiring only a basic plot or set of characters and allowing the speaker to choose words and even plot details at their discretion. Different forms of ritual language within a culture may employ different responses—incantations, for example, may be more formulaic than the narration of epic myths even within the same ritual tradition. Examining texts and performances from one tradition may reveal how speakers in that culture respond to the memory burden and thus provide insight into how different ritual texts are constructed and transmitted. Furthermore, a comparative study of ritual language through the lens of the memory burden may show how

features like verbal art function outside of pure artistry and enable speakers to remember important formulas or construct dynamic texts. This examination of the rigidity or flexibility of the incantations is vital to understanding the genre as a whole. By determining which features may be manipulated by the speaker and which features are held constant, we can both identify the defining features of the genre and address how speakers transmit and construct texts (specifically which features must be maintained and which may be altered without compromising the definition of the genre).

Parry-Lord Theory

The question of flexibility versus rigidity in oral tradition has led to a great deal of research on oral tradition and the memory burden. The work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord has been a mainstay in the study of oral tradition for decades. In brief, the theory they have proposed posits that skilled performers of epic narrative create their narratives by using learned *formulas* and *themes* to build verses, and that this composition is not the result of rote memorizations of words, but rather the absorption of patterns (Harris, 2017, p. 21).

A central tenet of oral formulaic theory is the use of *formulas*, or “group[s] of words...regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” (Lord, 1960, p. 30). Lord contends that important ideas in an oral tradition will be encapsulated in stable formulas and that these formulas (which may be only a few words or several lines) “emerge like trained reflexes” during a speaker’s recitation (Lord, 1960, p. 34). This conception of formulas begins to link features of verbal art with the pragmatic concerns of oral tradition—although repetition of phrases and parallelism are artistic features, their frequent use in oral traditions may also serve to alleviate the memory burden.

As ideas from oral formulaic theory are applied to individual genres, it is important to note a caveat about this application. Although the Parry-Lord theory has been extrapolated from the original study of Yugoslavian epic traditions to many other oral traditions, it was not originally intended (nor does it) to apply to every instance of oral epic (much less every instance of oral tradition cross-linguistically). In this study, the theory is a useful starting point for considering the incantations as an oral tradition, particularly in drawing out how creativity for the purpose of artistry and functional strategies to support memory may work together in a tradition. It is also useful in allowing us to conceptualize responses to the memory burden along a scale ranging from highly dynamic (traditions in which the speaker has control over all choices apart from a set of characters or a basic plot line) to highly formulaic (traditions in which the speaker directly memorizes entire texts or strictly adheres to memorized formulaic patterns). These principles espoused in the oral-formulaic theory are helpful in considering how various oral traditions, including the Hup incantation genre, respond to the issue of the memory burden.

3. Hup Shamanic Tradition and the Amazonian Context

Some type of oral tradition is present in nearly all cultures, and the question of transmission and maintenance (in light of the memory burden) becomes more relevant. While epic narrative is one form of specialized discourse, another form is shamanic language, or ritual language associated with shamans or other religious or magical authorities. Shamanic language, while a subset of ritual language that may be used in communal celebrations or gatherings, is generally directed toward a specific purpose (e.g. healing) rather than entertainment, education, or communication.

The study of shamanic language, and ritual language more generally, is significant from both linguistic and anthropological perspectives. The lexical, morphological, and syntactic differences between shamanic language and day-to-day language sometimes involve archaic forms that are preserved only through this specialized language dimension, allowing insight into historical aspects of a language that may not otherwise be accessible. The differences could also be a result of linguistic borrowing, and thus provide information about a language's relationship to surrounding languages and contact between communities. From an anthropological perspective, shamanic language can reflect cultural knowledge and beliefs that are not reflected in other genres. Interactions with the spiritual world, frequently evident in rituals, may reveal a community's ontological understanding of the world and their place within it. Myths and community histories are also frequently encoded in rituals, including epic narratives, and this history may be most clearly outlined in shamanic or ritual language. Knowledge about the environment or other factual knowledge may also be part of shamanic language. Descriptions of the local flora and fauna are one example of this, as they may be used in healing rituals.

Despite the cultural and spiritual significance of shamanic language, there is still much to learn. While rituals themselves are often a focus of anthropological study, the linguistic dimension is frequently skimmed over and denied thorough examination. This gap in documentation is particularly alarming in light of the reality of “stylistic shrinkage,” or the gradual elimination of styles or specialized forms of a language as it approaches endangerment or extinction (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989). The limited group of people in command of shamanic language and its spiritual quality and indigenous association make it very vulnerable to stylistic shrinkage, especially when foreign religion and medicine begin to take hold. Past negative experiences with foreigners can also motivate communities to resist sharing shamanic language with outsiders, making documentation both more difficult and more necessary.

Shamanism in Amazonia

While epic narratives and shamanic language are generally classified as different categories of ritual language, they have a great deal in common. Both are restricted domains of language and require some kind of training, often extensive, to command the genre. Both styles are culturally significant and specific in that they encode important myths and histories or spiritual perspectives that are integral to the community’s sense of identity and individual to that community. They may also both have a narrative component—incantations may also detail the shaman’s actions or interactions with the spiritual world in a narrative style even though the purpose is not to tell a story. In Amazonia, this narrative aspect of incantations is further highlighted because many shamanic activities are based on cosmological myths, though the connections between myths and specific spells is not well understood at this time. Thus, strategies employed in epic narrative traditions to ease the memory burden may also appear in shamanic language.

Shamanic language and practices in different traditions across Amazonia share a number of general foundational beliefs and specific features. The idea of illness as a result of “exogenous aggression” from spirits is significant, as healing incantations are formulated to address the spirit entities that cause harm to individuals (Buchillet, 2004, p. 112). These spirit entities are frequently linked to plants and animals, either as the entities of the plants and animals themselves or as protectors of the animal world, and therefore plants and animals or their spirit entities feature heavily in Amazonian shamanic tradition (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1976, p. 161). Healing and protection are major focuses, along with black magic, but the shaman acts more generally as a link between the physical realm and the spiritual or metaphysical realm (Buchillet, 2004, p. 111). Incantations allow the shaman to interact with spirits or other entities in the spiritual realm and thus cause changes in the physical world. The similarities in shamanism across cultures in South America, especially in Amazonia, include the shaman’s role described above and the manner of performing incantations—generally using tobacco or hallucinogens, an intermediate object to pass the spell on to the recipient, and a distinctive style of delivery (frequently quiet chanting over the object) (Epps & Ramos, forthcoming, p. 2).

These similarities in shamanic language point to contact and interaction among indigenous communities. Shamanic status may be divided into different categories, and many traditions in the Upper Rio Negro region of Amazonia distinguish between “jaguar-shamans”, who are able to transform themselves into jaguars and have the most complete and direct connections and abilities with the spirit world, and “blowers of spells”, who are able to carry out shamanic actions through their knowledge of spells and mythology (Buchillet, 2004, p. 111). The number of “jaguar-shamans” has decreased significantly in recent years, and much of the shamanic tradition in Amazonia today is carried out by “lower-level” shamans, including the

texts in this study (Ibid.). Shamans also travel between communities to learn from each other or apprentice to different shamans, and these interactions facilitate linguistic and cultural contact between groups. The cultural knowledge encoded in shamanic incantations and linguistic features specific to ritual discourse are spread throughout the region by the shaman, leading to shared rituals (or aspects of rituals) between disparate communities.

The Hup people of the Upper Rio Negro region

The Hup language is part of the Naduhup family, a family of four languages spoken in the Northwest Amazon. Hup has approximately 2500 speakers along the border of northwest Brazil and eastern Colombia. The Hup people are sometimes referred to as “forest people,” who primarily hunt, fish, and gather, in comparison to East Tukanoan and Arawakan peoples in the region who are “river people” and primarily fish and farm (Reid, 1979, p. 21). The social hierarchy in the region places the Hup and other forest people below the river people. This ranking is reflected in language acquisition in the region, as Hup adults are nearly universally bilingual in East Tukanoan, while very few Tukanoan speakers are fluent in Hup.

Although the number of speakers of Hup is relatively low, the language is generally seen as viable and nearly all speakers in the community speak Hup as a native and first language. However, interaction with Portuguese missionaries and other outsiders in the past few decades has caused ongoing threats to traditional Hup practices, especially those related to spirituality. Specialized forms of discourse like shamanic language are the most threatened by increased contact with outside society, and targeted study of these genres is needed before they are lost.

Features of Hup Incantations

This section will outline general defining characteristics of Hup incantations before an in-depth examination of individual incantations in the next section. The purpose of the incantations may be broadly organized into two categories: healing, *pě' bi'id* or 'sickness blessing'; and protection, *ta' bi'id*, 'surround blessing' (Epps & Ramos, 2018, p. 2). A third category, *döh*, includes incantations meant for causing harm, but examples of *döh* are not included in this study. Each incantation consists of a description of the shaman's interactions with the spirits associated with plants, animals, and other beings in order to either embody some beneficial aspect of the entity or subdue the entity's capacity to harm. These interactions enable the desired result of the incantation, which is generally to cure an illness or protect someone from harm.

The incantations are "not performed audibly, but are murmured over an intermediate object (cigarette, gourd of liquid, etc.) in a private setting" before the object is given to the recipient (*Ibid.*). The texts are discussed among groups of older men and transmitted to novices during "coca circles", when these older men and potential novices gather at night to give exegetic performances of the incantations and discuss the texts while ingesting coca (*Ibid.*).

A fundamental feature is the enactive quality of the incantations, meaning that they induce the occurrence of the described events, though they may take place in another metaphysical plane. The "words are endowed with a physical effect", distinguishing them from some conceptions of prayer or other spiritual rituals which may request that some action occur rather than actually bringing it about through the ritual (Buchillet, 1992, p. 1). Thus, although the shaman himself does not physically act out the events he describes performing, it is understood that they do take place. The description of these acts in sequence can be divided into a series of movements that traces the shaman's path, sometimes to a series of metaphysical "houses" and sometimes through the actual geography of the region, or simply follows his actions (Epps &

Ramos, 2018, p. 161). This series of movements is a clear opportunity for extended parallelism throughout the incantation, as the successive undertaking of multiple similar actions (e.g. moving from one place to another or engaging with one entity after another) can easily lead to a similar structuring of the descriptions of these actions.

A primary demand on memory in Hup incantations comes from the elaborate taxonomies of plants and animals that the shaman interacts with as he proceeds through the incantation. In order to induce the desired effect of the incantation, the shaman must engage various plants and animals that the Hupd'äh associate with the condition he is treating or protection he wishes to provide. These segments of the incantation (which are often the bulk of the spell) present the flora and fauna as powerful agentive spirit entities, and the shaman must manipulate them and “control” them through the enactive nature of the incantation. Accurate memory is especially important because failure to “control” any of the entities associated with the desired action will prevent the incantation from being effective. The taxonomies are often elaborate, requiring the shaman to remember sets of related species and the precise ways he must engage them.

While these general traits of Hup incantation are significant, a close reading of incantations is necessary to determine what elements are vital to the construction of an incantation and how formulas are used or ignored in order to alleviate the memory burden.

4. Examination of Texts

This chapter includes the analysis of five incantations used as the primary corpus for this study of Hup incantations. The first section involves a detailed analysis of one incantation, including an introduction, the full translated and annotated text, and a discussion of the major features. The next section broadens to include the remaining four incantations and discuss apparent defining features of the genre. The final section compares two versions of the same incantation performed by different speakers to assess the degree of intraspeaker variation and further hone the identification of rigid and variable elements within Hup incantations.

The set of incantations chosen in this analysis provides both consistency and diversity across a set of parameters. Four of the five texts may be categorized as protection blessings, while the fifth is healing. There is also a diversity in the sub-genres represented among the protection blessings, as two of the incantations are protection against less frequent major life events (namely, childbirth and travelling between communities), while two are versions of a relatively commonly used incantation to protect someone who is ingesting coca.

Variation among the speakers is also relevant to the comparative goal. Three of the incantations were performed by Ponciano Salustiano, an authoritative figure in his community as the oldest man from the highest-ranked clan. His authority, particularly in his status as the man with a high mastery of the genre and knowledge of the incantations, supports the use of his texts as they are likely to be considered acceptable representations of the genre by Hup speakers. However, the inclusion of two incantations by other speakers, though they may not be regarded as equivalent masters of the genre, provides an opportunity for broader comparison between speakers and an investigation of how a particular speaker might be able to creatively manipulate elements of the genre. This set of incantations, therefore, attempts to include a degree of

consistency that enables meaningful comparison while providing enough diversity to properly represent the genre.

The incantations included in this study were recorded, transcribed, and translated in 2011 and 2016 by Dr. Patience Epps from the University of Texas at Austin and Danilo Ramos from the Universidade Federal de Bahia in collaboration with the speakers in the Hup community of Tat Deh, on the border of the Central and Eastern dialectal regions. The recordings were not done during an actual performance of an incantation, but during a recitation of a spell similar to the exegetic performances done in coca circles. Permission was given by the speakers for the exegetic texts to be reproduced in academic work.

I visually organized the incantations presented in the following chapters, while the incantations in the appendix were visually organized by Dr. Patience Epps. The ethnopoetic organization is meant to convey the poetic performance elements of the oral texts to the reader by using line breaks and stanzas rather than prose paragraphs (Hymes, 1987, p. 19).

4.1 Pu'uk Bi'id

Introduction to the Text

This incantation was presented by Ponciano Salustiano in the Hup community of Tat Dēh (Taracua Igarapé) in 2016. It was recorded, transcribed, and translated into Portuguese by Danilo Paiva Ramos and Sabino Brasil Monteiro (Ponciano's son), and the translation was revised and further translated into English by Patience Epps in 2018. It was then visually organized by me. The purpose of the incantation, as a protective blessing, is to purify a person's body from negative elements introduced by the consumption of coca.

Like most Hup incantations, understanding the cosmological background is integral to understanding the meaning of the incantation. According to a Hup myth, coca plants originate from the finger of the “Old Snake” figure. One of his daughters, a “Meh Wudn” or fish-woman, stole her father’s finger and hid it in her vagina in order to provide coca to her husband’s family (Reid, 1979, pg. 353). The “wax” from her vagina affected the coca plant so that it may cause harm to those who consume it, including sexual impotence, fatigue, and weakening of the body (Ramos, 2013, pg. 133). The incantation is necessary to prevent this effect from the harmful wax, as it will allow the negative elements of the coca to flow out of holes in a person’s feet (Ramos, 2013, pg. 138).

Pu'uk Bi'id: Coca Incantation
Ponciano Salustiano, Tat Dēh, 2016

<p>Na'ap pũ'ũkũh. Húy pũ'ũk, yòk pũ'ũk, d'ób pũ'ũk, pij hõp pũ'ũk. Hohó pũ'ũk, wahnáw pũ'ũk.</p>	<p>All the (types of) coca. Minnow coca, giant otter coca, acará fish coca, matrinxã fish coca, Toad coca, abiu fruit coca.</p>	<p>Interjection from Sabino: he forgot the tapir coca, tãh pũ'ũk</p>
<p>Yup nùhàn yup am nùh s'id k'èt d'äh way ył'łh. Amłh sáp yi', nùh s'id k'èt d'äh way ył'łh. Hũt hin yłtyi' płd. Hũt tih nág, nág s'id k'èt d'äh way ył'łh. Ył no yó' b'ay, yúwàn d'äh d'äh way yó', in b'ay hup sáp ní b'ayáh. Pũ'ũk tồh meh nłh, pũ'ũk tồh meh nłh, tìnłh sáp dềhết, hãwíg dềh s'om k'ã' d'äh híy,</p>	<p>You wash the paste out from the liquid. In your body, you wash the paste out from the liquid. For tobacco too, it's the same. The tobacco oil, you wash to extract the oil. Speaking thus, extracting this, we are well in body. The coca caterpillar's, the coca caterpillar's, with his body-liquid,</p>	

hup sáp dēh níip b'ay.	the heart-spirit liquid bathes and flows out, The (good) body-liquid.	Possible alternate translation: 'we bathe in this heart-spirit liquid'
Yi no yó', ág am dó'óh, ág. Pèj d'ap tít. [...]	Speaking thus, you list fruits, fruits. The umari-flesh cipó vine.	
Ág dó meh n'lh, sím'eh. S'ùg só', s'ùg só'óy. [cipó...] Yúp ág dēh, nóoy. Yúwút háwíg dēh s'ómop b'ay. Yúwàn d'äh d'äh hi way yk'ky. Nùh s'id k'ët d'äh way yk'ky. Yup dēhét am hup sáp dēh níip b'ay, hup sáp dēh níip b'ay.	That which has little ripe fruits, small (ones). In the forest, that of the forest. [A vine] The water of this fruit, I say. With this liquid we bathe the heart-spirit. Making this go out, go down. Washing to extract the paste. With this water you have (good) body-liquid, (good) body-liquid.	
Pèj d'ap tít ág, sád tēh dēh b'ay.	(Having spoken of) the umari-flesh vine fruit, next (I move to) the liquid of the small abiurana .	small abiurana: <i>Pouteria sp.</i>
Sád tēh dēh, sád tēh dēh. Sád dēh.	The liquid of the small abiurana, the liquid of the small abiurana. The liquid of the abiurana.	

<p>Yĩ nóop b'ay, k'ög pupú' dēh.</p> <p>Yúwút am háwíg dēh s'ómop b'ay. Yúwàn am nùh s'id k'èt d'äh wáyap b'ay. Yòh dēh am dó'öp b'ay.</p> <p>Yúp b'ay pũ'ũk in wed tèn, ne wähäd nǎh.</p> <p>Ne tǎhyi' ham nǎh. Ne pǎ, ne òh pǎ.</p> <p>Wed yó', ni yǎ'y.</p> <p>Hǎ'áp héd b'ay. Héd, wahnáw s'ùgan uy, s'ùgan uy, wahnáw.</p> <p>Yùm, wahnáw b'ay, mìn. Mìn. Buhúh, buhúh. Wahnáw, mìn dēh.</p> <p>Yúwút háwíg dēh s'ómop b'ay.</p>	<p>Speaking thus, (I move to) the liquid of the passion fruit.</p> <p>With this (liquid) you bathe the heart-spirit. You wash it to extract the paste.</p> <p>So you take the medicine-liquid.</p> <p>Thus if we eat coca, we never become old.</p> <p>It never goes that way. Never have anything (wrong), never get sleepy/tired. Eating (coca), we are thus.</p> <p>All the abiuranas Abiurana, forest abiu, of the forest, abiu.</p> <p>The planted ones, the (planted) abiu, and ingá. Ingá. Cucura, cucura Abiu, ingá liquid.</p> <p>With this we bathe the heart-spirit.</p>	<p>Abiurana: <i>Pouteria freitasii</i></p> <p>Cucura: <i>Pourouma cecropieaeifolia</i></p>
<p>Yĩ no yó' b'ay, am hup sáp níip b'ay. Pó mìn tēg nóop b'ay.</p>	<p>Speaking thus, you are well of body. Inga of the thicket, I say next.</p>	

<p>Pó min tēg, yúwút in háwig dēh s'ómop b'ay.</p> <p>Yup dēhēt am hup sáp dēh níip b'ay.</p> <p>Pó min, mùn túan uy, b'òt pen s'áhan uy, hohó s'áhan uy, tēg sǎh s'áhan uy, w'ih s'áhan ... uy, am nóop b'ay.</p> <p>W'ih s'áh, tēg sǎh s'áh, hohó s'áh, w'ih s'áh, tēg sǎh s'áh, b'ěb'ěp s'áh, suwùk s'áh, yúp dēh póh hiyó'óy b'ay.</p> <p>Suwùk s'áh, suwùk s'áh. Weg yòh, weg yòh tòhó. Suwùk s'áh, suwùk s'áh.</p>	<p>Ingá of the thicket, with this liquid we bathe the heart-spirit.</p> <p>With this liquid you have (good) body-liquid.</p> <p>Ingá of the thicket, from the depths of the caatinga, from the garden-clay soil, from the toad soil, from the ash soil, from the sarapó-fish soil, you speak.</p> <p>The sarapó-fish soil, ash soil, toad soil, sarapó-fish soil, ash soil, butterfly soil, kapok soil, those of the banks of the River Tiquié.</p> <p>The kapok soil, the kapok soil. Sand, white sand. The kapok soil, kapok soil.</p>	<p>Possible alternate translation: with this liquid you make your body liquid</p> <p>caatinga: sandy-soil forest region</p>

Yúwàn uy am nóop b'ay.	Of these you speak.	
Yup páhap ãh nóop, hã'áp hũt nihũ' am nũh s'id k'ët d'ãh way yã'ip b'ay.	The one I just spoke of, all the tobaccos that exist, you wash the paste out from the liquid.	
Yúp inàn tih hik'ëtty mah yúp, inàn tih bãpyi' nãhip níiy b'ay.	Thus they say that the (shaman) takes care of us, he always does it in this way.	
Pũ'ũk, hũt, yãtyi' pãd nihũ', nám s'id k'ët d'ãh way yã'ly pãd.	Coca, tobacco, thus with all of these, we always wash them to extract the poison.	
Hã'áp pũ'ũk nihũ', d'õ' ne yõ', hĩd nám s'id k'ët d'ãh way yã'ly.	All types of coca, bringing them together, they wash them to extract the poison.	[Here speaker paused; conversation between people present]
Yĩnh yõ', in hup sáp níayáh, yõh dẽh sáp, in hup sáp níayáh.	Doing thus, we are well, (thus with) medicine-liquid, we are well in body.	
Buhúh dẽh yõh dẽh, s'ũgan uy, yũm yõh dẽh ãh nóop b'ay,	Cucura-liquid medicine, that of the forest, I speak next of the medicine-liquid of planted things,	
mĩn, buhúh, ãh nóop b'ay.	(planted) ingá, cucura, I speak (of these).	
Yúwút sáp níayáh.	With these we are (well) in body.	

<p>Yin^hhy, h^hut un' m^h, p^hũ'ũk wed m^h, ne t^hhyi' ham n^h, ne p^hẽ' p^hã, ne ồ^h p^hã.</p>	<p>In this way, when we smoke tobacco, when we eat coca, nothing (bad) happens like this, There is no illness/pain, no tiredness.</p>	
[...] Náv yúwúh!	All right!	Exegetic frame

Structure

The incantation is structured as a series of parallel “movements”, each of which introduces a set of entities and describes the shaman’s engagement with them. The term “movement” refers to the clearly distinct sections in each text, as each section deals with different entities and is “divided into structured sets of lines, or ‘stanzas’” (Epps & Ramos, forthcoming, p. 2). The parallel structure of the text operates on several levels. On a macro level, the series of similarly constructed movements creates a logical progression through the different entities as the shaman engages them. On a smaller scale, the process of summarizing the previous movement, engaging new entities, and potentially repeating this engagement produces more parallel structures throughout the text. This repeated parallel structure gives a coherence to the text, but it also functions as a literal representation of the shaman’s actions as he repeatedly establishes power over each new entity (Epps, Ramos, 2018, p. 2).

The first movement begins with a listing of different types of coca. The interjection (from Sabino Brasil Monteiro) notes a type of coca that Ponciano did not include. Comments from other members of the coca circle regarding the acceptability or unacceptability of specific parts of the incantation are common, and this specific interjection highlights the importance placed on the entities involved; Ponciano’s exclusion of *tàh pũ’ũk*, or tapir coca, may affect the success of the incantation. As this is an exegetic rendition of the incantation, it is possible that Ponciano purposely excluded *tàh pũ’ũk* in order to ensure that the spell that was recorded was not so complete that it would be too powerful.

Later in the incantation, Ponciano mentions “the coca caterpillar”. The caterpillar consumes the leaves of the coca, and this consumption creates a connection between the caterpillar and the person consuming coca. This connection is dangerous, as the association may lead to the person

sharing other substances with the caterpillar and thus taking on traits of the caterpillar, including laziness and weakness (Ramos, 2013, pg. 142). This danger stems from the Hup understanding of their world in conjunction with the world of spirit entities. The world of the spirit entities is “similar enough to allow for interaction, but disjunct enough that the interaction is dangerous” (Epps & Ramos, 2018, pg. 3). The shaman’s role therefore is to prevent this dangerous interaction by subduing the caterpillar and protecting the consumer of coca from being affected.

Liquid and Washing

Throughout the incantation, there is an emphasis on “washing to extract paste”. This process is described in regard to washing paste out of the coca and washing paste out of the body. This also parallels the process of washing manioc, a staple food source of the Hupd’äh, to remove the tapioca before it can be eaten. The process of washing and extracting paste has a clear association with removing negative coca elements from the consumer’s body.

The repetition of different types of liquid is also a prevalent feature of this incantation, as “medicine-liquid”, “body-liquid”, water of fruits, “liquid of the small abiurana”, “liquid of the passion fruit”, and “cucura-liquid” are all mentioned. This emphasis on liquid, and perhaps by extension on washing, calls on the metaphorical associations between liquid and “cooling, healing powers” compared to the heat associated with the malignant entities (namely, the caterpillar) (Reid, 1979, p. 348).

Soil

The repeated invocation of different types of soil is both interesting and in some ways puzzling. Soil itself does not seem to be a spirit entity that shamans must engage with, but the

listing and elaboration on different soils clearly has meaning within the incantation. One possible explanation is the connection between soils and the plants that grow on them. Reid notes that “soils play a recognized part in determining the type of forest which grow up on them” in Hup communities, and further that “these forest types are associated with known spectra of flora and fauna” (Reid, 1979, 255). The movement begins with the invocation of “ingá of the thicket” and then begins to list types of soil this ingá comes from. The abstraction from plant to soil may create associations with different plants from the same soils, though these other plants are not explicitly listed. If this is the case, this abstraction could also serve as an example of metaphorical association or verbal art within the incantation. Substituting the soil for unspoken plants may work “to confuse the spirit entities and obscure the shaman’s presence among them” by obfuscating the spiritually powerful information that the shaman is invoking (Epps & Ramos, 2018, pg. 3).

4.2 Comparative Discussion of the Genre

This section aims to broaden the scope of the study and consider the parameters identified in the analysis of the *pu'uk bi'id* incantation across the genre. Four incantations will be introduced and laid out, followed by a discussion of the features that seem to define the genre. Two of the incantations are introduced and laid out in my visual organization within this chapter, and two more are included in an appendix, as they were visually laid out by Dr. Patience Epps. The set of four incantations includes three additional protection blessings and one healing blessing. Two of the incantations are also renditions from Ponciano Salustiano, who provided the previously-analyzed coca incantation, while the other two are from individual speakers and thus add to the diversity of the corpus.

Pu'uk Bi'id: Coca Incantation

This incantation was performed by Sr. Paulino Brasil Monteiro in the Tat Dēh community. It was transcribed and translated by Danilo Paiva Ramos, Angélico Brasil Monteiro, and Sabino Brasil Monteiro in 2011, and the translations to English and Portuguese were revised by Patience Epps in 2018. Like the previous version of the coca incantation, the purpose is to purify a person's body from the negative elements introduced by the consumption of coca. The cosmological background is identical to the previous coca incantation, as each version is a performance of the same incantation.

Pū'ũk bi'id: Coca Incantation

Paulino Brasil Monteiro, Tat Dēh, 10 Sept. 2011

Wahnáw, wahnáw b'ok, núwàn āh bí'íh. Wahnáw b'ok, wahnáw. Wahnáw b'ok, yup b'õ b'ok, núwàn āh bí'íh, wahnáw b'ok, yõh dēh, yõh dēh. Yõh dēh, yup hũy'ah b'ay.	Abiu, abiu bark, I work (to transform) that one. Abiu bark, abiu. Abiu bark, that tururi bark, I work on that, abiu bark, the medicine-water, the medicine-water. The medicine-water, after that.	Tururi: <i>Sterculia sp</i>
Tih pū'ũk tig k'õd yóhan 'ùy dēh, hăwăg dēh, mm, āh bí'íh. Yúp b'ay, in yõh dēh do' yó', nusó' nup tih nùhuwàn, hi k'ětewàn,	The water inside the stem of the coca, the water of the heart-spirit, I work on that. Then, listing the water medicines, we extract that (paste) that comes out of the liquid, which	heart-spirit: a material entity, composed of air and milk from the Lake of Milk in cosmological myth Extracting the coca paste from the person consuming coca, so that it does not cause

<p>in d'ähd'äh way yí'íh, hi d'ähd'äh way yí'íh, nuso' tih no sud hi m!', yõh dëh yúp b'ay in sáp dëh s'ómop b'ay, pó mìn tęg dëh, pó mìn tęg dëh, sap dëh in s'ómóh.</p> <p>Yúp mah yúp, in!h sáp dëh, in nãwãwãh, nãw yõh dëh, (hõp äy), pũ'ũk b'õh tęg dëh yup dëhan dëh s'ómóy mah yup in!h sáp d'õ' nãwãh, eytënyi', eytënyi' in sáp níh.</p>	<p>descends, we pull it down, while I speak into it to make it descend here, this medicine-liquid, we wash the body water [= sweat?], liquid of the thicket-ingá tree, liquid of the thicket-ingá tree, we wash the body water.</p> <p>So, they say, our body water, we are well, the medicine-liquid is good, (the fish- woman), the liquid of the coca-salt tree (embaúba), in that liquid we wash, they say, to make our bodies well, for our bodies to be just the same, just the same (as they were before).</p>	<p>laziness or other ill effects</p> <p>possibly <i>inga edulis</i></p> <p>coca-salt tree: <i>Cecropia sp.</i></p>
<p>Yúp b'ay, d'õ' s'id hũ' yi' yõ', d'äh hámap b'ay, in nùh s'id yí' b'ayáh, nùh, in!h háwäg in nuh s'id yí' b'ayáh, in!h háwäg,</p>	<p>Then, after washing (it) completely, sending it out, we wash out the paste, we wash out the paste that is inside our heart-spirit, our heart-spirit,</p>	
<p>yõh dëhét yi' in hup sap ní b'ayáh. Yõh dëh, hup sáp níy.</p> <p>Wí'íy n'íg, hí' àp (wah- hãy,)</p>	<p>with the medicine-liquid we are well in body. With the medicine-liquid we are well in body.</p> <p>Do you [non-indigenous people]</p>	<p>Exegetic comment</p>

<p>pũ'ũk tih ní'ap, wahnáw pũ'ũk, pũ'ũk s'á, nùh s'id y!'íh, nùh s'id y!'íy píd, d'ähdäh way y!'íy píd, d'ähdäh way y!'íy píd.</p> <p>Yin!híy b'ay yòh dēh in d'ó' b'ayáh, tũ' ą g yòh dēh, tũ' ag yòh dēhét, hup sáp níih, [... incomprehensible; Ponciano suggests: naw nih mún sáp hăwig dēh s'om k'ă' d'äh híy,] tihàn hid nóop b'ayáh.</p> <p>Wahnáw, wahnáw tēh yòh dēh, b'ók húp ũh, b'ób b'ok ni b'ayáh.</p> <p>Yúp sáp ni hũ' yó', hí' ăp, paháp ăh nó n'ih tēg, hũ' ũh, s'ùgút, s'ùgút hũ' yó', yup in núp sáp dēh s'idíh, in hup sáp dēh níih, in hup sáp dēh níih, hup sáp dēh s'ómóh, hup sáp dēh s'om hũ' yó'.</p>	<p>understand/listen?</p> <p>All the kinds of coca that exist, abiu coca, black coca, we wash out the paste, we wash out the paste for all of these, we extract (the paste from the body) for all of these, we extract (the paste from the body).</p> <p>Thus we go taking the medicine-liquid, the medicine-liquid of the tapir-araçá, with the medicine-liquid of the tapir- araçá we are well in body, [we bathe with a lot of heart-spirit liquid, flowing down], they speak to him.</p> <p>Abiu, medicine-liquid of the small abiu, so that our skin might be good (strong), like the bark of the tururi.</p> <p>After going over the body completely, how many, those that I just spoke of, finishing them, finishing those of the forest, finishing (all the fruits of the forest), washing the body (with these), we have body-water, we wash with the body-water, we finish washing with the body-water.</p>	<p>tapir-araçá: <i>Psidium</i> sp.</p> <p>Direct connection between the recipient's body and the bark of the tururi</p>
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<p>Yúp b'ay tōh n'ân, pū'ūk tōh n'ân, tin!h yúp, tin!h yúp, tih hikóp, yúp tih k'ètét tih hikóp k'á'āwan, yágan d'āhdāh way yí'íh, ta' d'āh way yí'íy,</p>	<p>Thus for the caterpillars, the coca caterpillars, her, her, their covering, in that leaf in which they hang covered, (I) send them out of their hammock, send them out to surround them,</p>	
<p>yág, (hãy), tin!h sùh yág meh, tih hikóp ká'āp yágan d'āhdāh way yí'íh, way hū' yí'íh, yúwúh, yúp (hãy) b'ay, tih dōan, tih s'āan yup tih tōhan b'ay, yúp yágan tih hikóp k'á'āwan, d'āhd'āh way hū yí'íh.</p> <p>Ág yá'ap yúwúh.</p> <p>Yúp ũhníy, sùh yág meh, tih k'et k'ōdan, tih m'óy' k'ōdan, hikópöp níy, yúp tih sùh yág meh, yágan in d'āhd'āh way yí'íh, d'āhd'āh way yí'íh.</p> <p>Yúp tēg k'í tēg d'ok yí'íh, yúp yág (hãy), sùh yág (tih hãy), k'í pōhō k'á'āp, tēghōd, tēg d'ok k'et d'āh way yí'íh, yōh dēh, yōh dēh,</p>	<p>(their) hammock, their little web, I send them out of the hammock in which they hang covered, (for them to) leave it completely, that, that, the red one, the black one, the caterpillar, the one that hangs in the hammock, I send it out completely.</p> <p>That's all the fruits.</p> <p>Thus perhaps, the small web-hammock, inside its leaf, inside its rolled-up leaf, it stays covered, this small web-hammock, we send it out of its hammock, we send it out.</p> <p>I put out the warmth (that one feels in the hammock when one does not want to get out), this hammock, web-hammock, (where they are) hanging snug and warm, (with their body heat like the warmth of the hearth),</p>	

<p>têghödöt, ãh têghöd bi' yó', in hup sáp ní b'ayáh, in hup sáp níih.</p> <p>Yít tih tuh ham k'étayáh.</p> <p>Hĩ' àp hú'úy, hí' àp (hãy) hid wed d'ö' k'éy s'ám, hid wed d'ö' k'éy, hid hú' k'ët d'äh wáyáh, (hãy yó'), hup sáp dèh s'om yó', hup sáp dèh s'om yó', náv n'ih mún sáp n'gàn hup sáp dèh ni yó', hup sáp dèh níy t'han hid nóóh, núp !n'ih sáp náv tēh.</p> <p>Náv hũ' yí'íy, (hãy,) n'íp no wáy, núp hũt in ún'up hin, in nusó' d'ähd'äh way yí' b'ayáh.</p> <p>Hũt hin tih k'óy [=mistura de tabaco e coca], nusó' d'ähd'äh way yí'íh, tód bi' k'ã' d'äh wạ y yí'íy,</p>	<p>I put out the fire to send them out, the medicine-water, medicine-water, the hearth, I working on the hearth-fire, we are well in body, we are well in body.</p> <p>Here (the incantation) pauses in order to continue.</p> <p>All that exist, all those that they (caterpillars) have always tasted, they taste (them), they all leave (their hammocks) to stand, after washing the body-water, after washing the body-water, for you all to get have much body water, they speak (the incantation) for one to have body-water, for our body to be well.</p> <p>We become completely well, we speak to make (the paste) go out here, likewise when we smoke tobacco, we make (the unhealthy paste) go out that way, likewise.</p> <p>Tobacco too, the mixture of tobacco and coca, I make it go out here, (I) make a hollow space in making it go</p>	
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bí' k'ã' d'äh way y!y	out from where it was hanging.	
Ya'áp yúwúh, Danilo.	That's all, Danilo.	Exegetic closing

Rash-Fever Incantation

This incantation was performed by Manuel Dias in the Barreira Alta community in June 2002. It is an example of *pě' bi'id*, or “sickness blessing”, and is intended to heal rash and fever. A mash of ingá bark and water in a cup was used as an intermediary object, and the bark was then rubbed over the recipient’s arms and legs. The incantation “was repeated three or four times over the course of a few days” until the recipient was cured (Epps, 2008, p. 916).

Notably, this is the only incantation in the corpus that is not performed by Sr. Ponciano (while one coca incantation is performed by Sr. Paulino, there is also a version by Sr. Ponciano). Sr. Manuel was not a full shaman, but like Sr. Ponciano and Sr. Paulino had “skill in healing and possesse[d] a repertoire of spells for different occasions” (Epps, 2008, p. 916).

Incantation for Rash and Fever

Sr. Manuel Dias, Barreira Alta, 2002

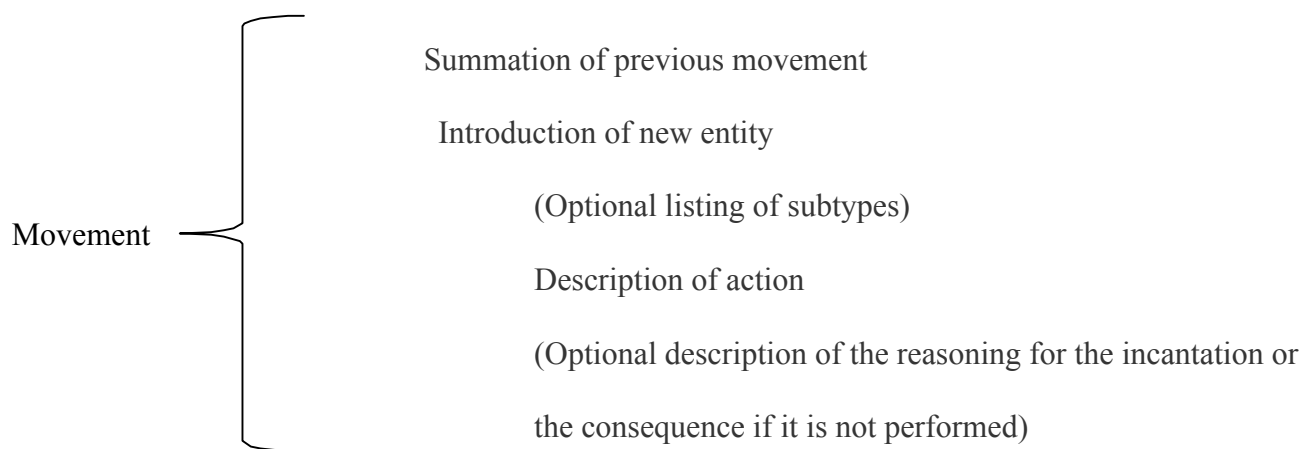
Bi'id 'íd íp, yúp 'áw... 'áw mēh w'ōb d'āh híy... yúwàn dēh s'ap k'ēt w'ōb d'āh híy...	The curing spell, that swarm ... (I) send (the words of the spell) down onto the swarm to kill (the sickness)... (the words) go down to break through the water (on the victim)...	
Yúwàn hū' d'āh ham yó', hū' d'āh ham yó', núp,	Having finished sending that (water) away, having finished sending (it) off, this,	
b'ab'á' 'āwāt,	with the imbaúba swarm,	

<p>b'ab'ä' tēg hibäg d'äh, yid 'äh n! h, yid 'äh n!h dēh, yid 'äh n!h noséw dēh, dēh s'ap k'ēt d'äh híiy s'ámáäh. Yid 'äh n!h hēy' b'ah, id söd k'ēt d'äh híicáp, t'hàn äh nóóh.</p>	<p>the ones that swarm around the imbaúba trees, their, their water, their saliva, (the words) go down to break through the water. Their scissors, (I) send the speech down strongly to untie, I said to it (the illness or its embodiment).</p>	
Yúwàn hū' hamyō',	Having sent those off,	
<p>kapi' pó m! hīb'ah níwàn, h!dn'àn äh !d !h... Yid'äh n!h dēh, yid'äh n!h noséw dēh, äh äw mēh w'öb d'äh híiy, äh mēh w'öb d'äh híiy ... naw sápáh... id mēh w'öb d'äh híiy ... t'hàn äh nóóh.</p>	<p>to the one who came to exist under the caapi thickets, to them I spoke... to them. Those ones' water, their saliva, I send down (spell) to kill that swarm, I send (it) down to kill (it) ... it's very well done... (I) send my words down to kill (it)... I say to it (the sickness).</p>	
Yid'ähàn hū' hamyō',	Having sent all of these (the swarm of bee like insects) away,	
<p>yid'ähàn tuks! n'àn äh do'oh, tuks! d'äh yid'äh n!h dēh, yid'äh n!h hēy' b'ah, yid'äh n!h yùd, id wos kēy mí s'ámáäh... t'hàn 'äh nóóh.</p>	<p>I count those ants, the stinging ants, their water, their scissors, their clothes, (I) spoke to pull (the clothes) off... I said this to it (sickness).</p>	

Yúwàn hũ' hamyố', nid'ă h n!h,	Having sent that away, these ones',	
taế d'ăh n!h, yid'ă h n!h dēh 'ăh nóóh. Yid'ă h n!h hēy' b'ah 'ăh nóóh, yid'ă h n!h yùd, yid'ăh n!h nuhũytúk tēg k'!... mɨŋ s'ap w'öb d'ăh híy... t!hàn 'ăh nóóh.	the te ants', their water, I said. Those ones' scissors, I said, those ones' clothes, their hat of heat... (I send the spell to) break the dizziness (of the illness)... I said to it	
Hũ' d'ăh ham yí'!h, y!t !h, hũ' d'ăh hamyố',	(The spell) finished sending it all away, thus, having finished sending it all away,	
bă k, kok b'ák át hị bắk b!k d'ăh, yid'ăh n!h bắk s'á d'ăh, yid'ăh n!h hēy' b'ah, ăh nóóh, yid'ă h n!h dēh, ăh nóóh, yid'ăh n!h tát n'àn, ăh hũ' d'ăh ham yí' !h. Tát n'àn ăh	bees, the ones that always swarm in the maniwara nests, their black bees, their scissors, I said, their water, I said, their tat ants, I sent them all away.	
Hũ' d'ăh ham yí' yố',	Having sent off all the tat ants,	
naw cáp áh t!hàn, naw cáp áh t!hàn, yòh dēh, yúp kud'úp, yòh dēh, cab'ád át, cab'ád át 'id tu k'ět muhũn icáp... t!hàn 'ăh nóóh ...	it was really good for her (victim), really good for her; medicine water, that pain diminisher, medicine water, with a leg strip, with a leg strip (I) speak (the sickness) all the way down into the ground... I said this to it...'	

Structure and Length

The general structure for each of the incantations includes a series of “movements”, as previously defined, potentially bracketed by an introductory and final exegetic frame (which would presumably not be part of an actual performance of the incantation). Each movement begins with the summation of the previous action, and then introduces a new series of entities or a new action. These entities are grouped into movements based on their role in the incantation and ecological relationships between the flora and fauna. Some movements may also include a description of the effect of the illness on the victim or the remedying effect the incantation will induce.



These movements are repeated until the shaman has addressed all of the relevant entities. There is a general trend among the texts studied here of addressing positive entities early in the incantation and transitioning to addressing malignant entities in the second half. For example, the Childbirth Incantation includes a transition from listing wide-hipped animals adapted to childbirth to the malicious chigoe fleas and worm-lizards.

Despite this similar internal structure, there is a clear variation in length among incantations. In the small corpus used in this study, the length of incantation ranged from the 205-word Rash-Fever Incantation to the 1,200-word Childbirth Incantation. It seems likely that incantations used for more common events, such as curing a rash or ensuring coca is safe to consume, tend to be shorter (in this study, under 500 words). Incantations used for less frequent and larger-scale events, such as childbirth and path-travelling, may be longer (in this study, over 1000 words). If this holds across a larger number of incantations, it may be related to the “scope” of the issue the incantation is meant to address. The shaman engages more entities in the longer incantations, suggesting that tasks like protecting women giving birth and travelers involve more actions when compared to tasks like cleansing coca or addressing a rash and fever. Longer incantations also involve a consistent inclusion of the elements deemed optional in the schema for a movement given previously, especially descriptions of the consequence of an incorrect incantation. This may also relate to the “scope” of the task and the likelihood of something going wrong during a dangerous event like childbirth; the awareness of danger and a negative outcome may prompt the shaman to mention this possibility. In order to truly understand the variation in length, it would be helpful to have a broader corpus of texts. The length of each text may also depend on the speaker, as may be seen in a later discussion of the two versions of the coca incantation.

Structural variation also exists on a smaller scale within incantations. Movements may include a single entity, a small group of tightly-related subtypes of an entity (see the first movement of Ponciano’s Pu’uk Bi’id Incantation), or an elaborate list of entities with seemingly looser relationships (see the third movement of Ponciano’s Pu’uk Bi’id Incantation). Single

entities may be invoked only once or several times, and this repetition may appear consecutively or interspersed between the introduction of different entities.

Parallelism

Parallelism is both prevalent in Hup incantations and well addressed by Lord as a useful feature in the transmission and maintenance of oral epic. Although parallelism has been addressed as a trope of verbal art and a feature of shamanic action and artistry, it is also connected to the oral nature of the incantations and the alleviation of the memory burden. The speaker's need to create a new line even before finishing the one currently being spoken can be solved by "build[ing] patterns of sequences of lines, which we know of as the 'parallelisms' of oral style" (Lord, 1960, p. 54). Thus, the parallel structure of movements within Hup incantations allows the shaman to quickly construct new lines (for example, constructing the first line of a new movement by summing up the previous movement) from an established pattern. The somewhat heightened levels of parallelism in longer incantations may be explained by this reasoning—while individual entities are repeated in shorter incantation (e.g. the coca incantations), the lengthier Childbirth Incantation sees full listings and actions repeated as a unit. While this has been hypothesized to be due to the shaman's desire to fully engage with those entities and assert his mastery (and this may still be accurate), it may also reflect a heavier reliance on parallelism as a memory support when faced with a longer incantation. Parallelism thus may function both as a creative decision on the part of the shaman and as a useful tool in the maintenance of the tradition.

Organization of Indigenous Knowledge

While the listing of each new entity has a specific purpose within the incantation, it also registers plants and animals in the region and the role they play in the shaman's understanding of the environment.

On the level of individual entities, the shaman's purposeful invocation of flora and fauna with liminal qualities demonstrates the shaman's understanding of that entity and its qualities. On a broader scale, the organization of the flora and fauna within the spell "map out the relationships among flora, fauna, spirits, and other entities, and detail their properties, locations, and associations within an ecological and cosmological matrix" (Epps & Ramos 2018, p. 4). This sort of organization is exemplified in the Childbirth Incantation, as the shaman lists a series of animals with large hips well-adapted for childbirth:

The pacas, the caititus, the pigs, the tapirs, I always list them all.

They say that other (people) have already listed all the small animals, I say.

I list all those who have large pelvises.

Of the pacas, of the female pacas, between their thighs, (like) this one I make the woman sit, (likewise) between her thighs.

The shaman explicitly notes the trait which groups these animals together (*large pelvises*) and lists them in descending size order.

The incantations also demonstrate a dichotomy between heat and coolness, often in the form of fire and water. This is related to the Hup understanding of the "energy system" of their environment, which involves a "cool force" and a "hot force" (Reid, 1979, p. 253). The cool force is associated with vegetables and non-living things, while living animals are "hot" (Reid, 1979, p. 253) While coolness is advantageous for a shaman, the hot force is "in the spirits of the forest which makes them cannibalistic and malevolent", and in general is associated with danger

(Reid, 1979, p. 253). Therefore, the interplay between “cool” entities (notably including liquids) and warm entities can illuminate the shaman’s treatment and organization of some entities.

For example, in Paulino’s version of the *pu’uk bi’id*, the shaman uses fire to send the caterpillars out of their leaves. While other incantations feature lengthy descriptions of malignant entities, the use of heat to expel the caterpillar marks that the caterpillar is malignant, even though its weapons and danger are not outlined.

The organization of ecology and cosmology is linked to oral tradition and the benefit of formula in oral composition and delivery. The repeated listing of each entity, paired with an environmental feature and the entity’s “weapons”, creates a pattern for the shaman to simply repeat with each new entity. The grouping of related entities also allows the shaman to follow an underlying structure (his knowledge of ecological relationships between the flora and fauna) as he recites the incantation.

Catalogues and Enumeration of Entities

While comparing the incantations to oral epics directly leads to an exploration of the poetic devices in the incantations, it also provides an opportunity to reinterpret the purpose of more pragmatic elements, particularly the taxonomies of flora and fauna. As addressed, these elements have a clear purpose in the text (the listing of necessary entities in some ways *is* the purpose of the text) and serve to represent and preserve understanding of environmental relationships.

They also bear similarity to the “catalogues” of ancient literature, especially ancient Greek literature and Homeric epics. In the *Iliad*, for example, these catalogues may be a lengthy list of ships or genealogy (Gaertner, 2001. p. 299). The Greek catalogues do not have an apparent narrative function, but when put in the voice of a character, rather than the story-teller, they seem

to function “as a means of self-assertion” that supports the power or credibility of the speaker (Gaertner 2001, p. 300). A long catalogue, which at first might seem to stunt the progression of the narrative, instead may serve to heighten the sense of strength of the speaker (through a listing of his weapons, or ships, or impressive genealogy).

The extensive cataloguing and repetition of entities within Hup incantations may serve as a similar building-up of strength and credibility, although not for the purpose of conveying this strength to an audience as would be the case in an epic narrative. This idea would also give some explanation to the variation in the number of repetitions of entities—more repetitions might indicate the shaman’s desire to emphasize his absorption of the entity’s traits, if it is positive, or to emphasize his power over the entity, if it is negative.

The repetition of entities as the shaman takes a new action can thus be understood as a reinvocation of his strength and power, which enables him to take another action. Unlike in the Homeric epics, the repetition could be understood here as actually providing the shaman with additional strength or ability to take action (as opposed to simply conveying his strength to an audience). The listing would then bolster the actual efficacy of the incantation (and thus the potential for a real-world effect) by building up the shaman’s power, rather than impressing an audience.

4. Intraspeaker Variation

While comparing across a wider corpus provides information about the genre in general, it is difficult to identify features that are inherent to each incantation without access to different versions of the same incantation (whether these versions are given by different speakers, at different times, or in different contexts). In this section, I will compare features of both coca incantations in order to determine the degree of intraspeaker variation allowed or encouraged by the genre.

Content

Although engaging with specific entities is integral to the success of the incantation, there is clearly variation in the entities which Sr. Paulino and Sr. Ponciano include. I will first identify the major differences in content between the two versions and then theorize what this variation indicates about a potential underlying template.

The following table shows the inventory of entities in both incantations:

	Ponciano's Version	Both	Paulino's Version
Named Entities	minnow coca giant otter coca acará fish coca coca matrinxã fish coca toad coca fruits umari-flesh cipó vine small abiurana liquid passion fruit liquid cucura garden-clay soil toad soil ash soil	medicine-liquid coca inga liquid of the inga abiu abiu coca caterpillar	abiu bark tururi bark black coca medicine liquid of the tapir araca tururi

	sarapo fish soil butterfly soil kapok soil sand tobacco cucura-liquid		
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One explanation for the discrepancy in entities invoked is the process of exegesis. The texts as recorded are exegetic performances, not actual treatments for an intended recipient, and the speakers have redacted some parts of the incantations to prevent the recorded incantations from being too powerful. Different parts of the incantation may have simply been redacted in the exegesis, but all parts of each version might be present in an actual performance of the incantation.

Because of the high degree of variation between the entities invoked in each incantation, it is worthwhile to consider possible explanations beyond simply a difference in redaction. One explanation for the variation is the idea of grouping and essentializing similar entities. As has been shown, entities with shared features are frequently grouped by the shaman within movements, and his actions apply to the full set. The variation in types of coca listed by Ponciano versus Paulino could be a result of the shaman's understanding that invoking one type of coca (simply coca in general, or abiu coca) will functionally invoke the other associated types of coca. Therefore, the lengthy list of types of coca given in Ponciano's inventory may be understood as "folded into" Paulino's invocation of simply "coca", or "abiu coca" and "black coca". The shaman may be able to induce the same effect from a short listing of entities rather than a long listing, and therefore does not have to list every possible entity. Alternatively, the

incantations may simply be intended for slightly different contexts, in which only certain types of coca are involved.

Another significant difference is the lengthy list of soil types in Ponciano's version, which is entirely absent from Paulino's version. While the purpose of the listing of soil was not entirely clear in the previous analysis of Ponciano's incantation, it seems likely that the soil is connected to the plants and animals that inhabit it or are grown in it, and the inclusion of the soil references those plants and animals. In this instance, there is not a clear entity or set of entities in Paulino's version which could substitute for the list of soils.

While there are obviously differences in the entities listed in each incantation, there is also a shared set. It would be presumptive to assume that this shared set are the only "required elements" in the incantation, in part because of the described redaction in exegesis, but it is also interesting to note that this shared set does include some of the most-repeated elements in each incantation. Both incantations also note what will happen if the incantation is not successful. While it is not a repeated theme, it does indicate the shaman's attention to the purpose of the incantation.

Apart from the mere inclusion or exclusion of an entity, there is also significant variation in how each incantation deals with the entities they share. Engagement with the caterpillar is an intriguing example of this variation, as the caterpillar is mentioned in both versions but dealt with quite differently.

The dangerous connection between humans and caterpillars formed by their shared consumption of the coca plant is addressed in each incantation, but Ponciano's version only briefly mentions the caterpillar and does not explicitly describe the danger associated with it. In contrast, the third movement of Paulino's version elaborates on the engagement with the

caterpillar and the role of the caterpillar as a malignant entity. The metaphorical association between the caterpillar in his leaf and the toxins in the coca is more explicit in Paulino's version. Ponciano's brief mention of the caterpillar suggests that this metaphor, or at least the association between the caterpillar as a malignant entity and the purification of coca, is a regular feature of the incantation. His lack of elaboration could indicate that the association is so strong that merely mentioning the caterpillar is sufficient to engage with and subdue it.

Structure

The length of the incantations is relatively similar, as Ponciano's version is approximately 1000 words in the original Hup and Paulino's version is approximately 1300. Neither incantation has a discernable pattern to the number of repetitions of entities or actions, although both do include numerous repetitions of named entities.

Apart from the difference in the number of movements, the incantations are stylistically and structurally similar. The schema of movements proposed in the previous section for the entire genre can be applied to each incantation, as there is a clear process of summing up the previous action, introducing a new entity and action, and elaborating on that action through the course of the movement.

Conclusions

Despite evidence that the engagement of specific entities is the heart of an incantation, these two versions of the coca incantation suggest that the set of entities which may or must be invoked is not entirely rigid. This may be explained by redaction in the exegetic performance of these versions of the coca incantation, but it may also be due to the associations between groups

of entities. The lengthy list of types of coca in Ponciano's version, compared to the brief list in Paulino's version, suggests that identifying only part of a group of entities is sufficient to engage or address the whole of that group, rather than listing every member of the group.

The variation in number of movements, number of repetitions, and degree of description between the two versions suggest that speakers have a high degree of flexibility along these parameters as well. The degree of engagement with the caterpillar exemplifies this flexibility, as it seems that simply mentioning it as an entity is sufficient in Ponciano's version, while a detailed description of the danger it presents and the shaman's actions to subdue it is present in Paulino's version.

Despite this variation, the existence of a shared set of entities and the stylistic similarities do point to a set of underlying requirements for the success of this incantation, though it may be vague. The "movement" structure, repetition of relevant entities, and continuous theme of "washing" seem to be necessary to the spell or at least consistent in its performance across speakers.

5. Conclusion

While there is much that is not fully understood, the analysis done on this corpus indicates a number of patterns that hold across the incantations. The consistent structure of movements, the necessary understanding of the relationships between flora and fauna in the environment, and the trends from positive (and the association with water and coolness) to negative or dangerous (and the association with fire and warmth) are present throughout the corpus. At the same time, the variation in repetition, lack of identical wording, and variation in entities invoked show that these texts are highly dynamic and speaker-driven. The actual form of the incantation seems to be a combination of a basic template that holds across all analyzed types of incantations and the speaker's own understanding of the task at hand and the environment in which he is working.

Ultimately, it seems that Hup incantations utilize many of the same formulaic strategies used in oral narrative traditions more broadly, and the progression of movements relating to the shaman's actions is similar to the progression of events in an orally-composed story. The verbal artistic features that help the shaman enact his purposes show clear connections to features typical of oral tradition, and thus we may view the genre not only as significant in the illustration of verbal art variation cross-linguistically, but also in the domain of oral tradition.

It is important to note that as an early foray into studying Hup incantation, many of the elements discussed here (ecological relationships, the purpose of parallelism, the meaning of metaphors) are not perfectly understood. There are certainly ecological relationships, and likely many other elements, that are understood by the shamans themselves but not by those simply analyzing the texts, especially in translation. There may be formulaic patterns that are not obvious and have not been identified.

This study has been a brief foray into understanding and categorizing the Hup incantation genre, but there are many areas of additional study that could shed further light on the subject. This study included little analysis of syntax or morphology in the incantations, which could show further differentiation or uniformity across speakers. The analysis of verbal art and poetic devices could be examined more thoroughly, especially with input from the Hup community regarding the meaning of metaphors or more obscure features.

6. Appendix

Tiwit Hamap Bi'id: Path-Travelling Incantation

This incantation was performed by Sr. Ponciano Salustiano Ramos in the Tat Dëh community. It was recorded and transcribed by Danilo Paiva Ramos in 2011 and edited with speakers, translated, and visually organized by Patience Epps. It is an example of *ta' bi'id*, or “surround blessing”, and is used to protect travelers as they leave the community on a journey.

Tiwit Hamap Bi'id : Path-Travelling Incantation

Ponciano Salustiano Ramos, Tat Dëh, July 8, 2011

Light grey: exegetic frame (opening/closing). Dark grey: movement openings.

1	Núp tiwít hitám d'áh.	These are (words) for helping on the paths.	Notes
2	1. Dög m'èh n!h hohtègét ãh sum bi' b!h, Danilo.	I always start it with the canoe of the uirapixuna snake, Danilo.	uirapixuna snake: <i>Pseudoboa cloelia</i> Potentially related to the anaconda canoe in the origin myth
3	Dög m'èh n!h hohtègét.	With the canoe of the uirapixuna snake.	
4	Yúp hohtèg yì' ãh yet ham d'áháh, tē! tìw m'é yì'.	I go laying down this canoe, as far as the path goes.	
5	Hãy, dög m'èh n!h hohtèg,	Um, the canoe of the uirapixuna snake,	yellowheart: <i>Euxylophora sp.</i> long-leaf laurel: <i>Ocotea sp.</i>
6	sáwi hohtèg, sáwi tēg hohtèg,	the yellowheart canoe, the yellowheart-tree canoe,	
7	hà k'èt w'át hohtèg,	the long-leaf laurel (<i>Ocotea sp.</i>)	
8	hoho hà' tēg hohtèg,	canoe,	
9	s'id tēg hohtèg.	the toad laurel-tree canoe, the jacajaca tree canoe.	
10	Dög m'èh n!h hohtègét	With the canoe of the uirapixuna snake,	
11	ãh hohtèg níy,	I possess (this) canoe,	
12	hup s'ibip b'ok ni hámawáh.	with the bark for the people's feet (I) go on.	

13	Yin!híy mah yúp dahá !nàn bahad n!h!h.	It is thus, they say, that the <i>daha</i> snake doesn't appear to us.	
14	Yúp hohtèg k'òdan mah yúp...	So saying, inside this canoe...	
15	in s'ib b'ob'ok ni ham yí'!h,	we go with our feet bark-wrapped,	
16	yúp hohtèg k'òdan.	inside this canoe.	
17	Noh k'èt ham yí'!h, té sáp hayàman.	We go stepping within it to the next village.	
18	2. Yí no yó', yúwàn yí no yó' b'ay,	Having said thus, having said that part,	
19	n! ib' b'è'èt àh hitā' yet ham	I lay down my fish-fence (pari) of life	
20	d'áhāb'ay, t!h!y n'àn.	to surround the snakes.	
21	N! ib' b'è'èt h!dān hitā' yó',	Having surrounded them with my fish- fence of life,	
	wèd, hīdan, àh wèd nó'ayáh.	food, I offer food to them (the snakes).	
22	Pū'ũk,	(I offer them) coca,	
23	tàk pū'ũk b'ò',	the gourd of latex-coca,	
24	pāhāy tàk pū'ũk b'ò',	the gourd of sorva latex-coca,	sorva: <i>Couma guianensis</i>
25	mòt tàk pū'ũk b'ò'.	the gourd of rubber-tree latex-coca.	rubber-tree: <i>Hevea sp.</i>
26	Yúuwút yúp t!h!y n'àn,	With this, to these biting snakes,	Common lancehead: <i>Bothrops atrox</i>
27	nid'āh b'āw n'ān,	to the common lanceheads,	lives on land, but swims well and can
28	b'āwàn,	to the common lancehead,	climb trees
29	yāy mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the small root-clump	
30	dèh hātàn,	house,	
31	sá' mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to the water lancehead,	Water lancehead: <i>Bothrops sp.</i>
32	tòd mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the aerial root-clump	
33	hm, mòyan ùy ìhàn,	house,	
34	dèh hātàn	to him of the hollow tree house,	
35	āh nóop b'ay.	to him of the house,	
		to the water lancehead,	
		I speak (to them).	

36	Dềh púpàn yít yi' píd,	Thus also to the water-duck lancehead,	<i>Bothrops sp.</i>
37	dềh púpàn	to the water-duck lancehead,	
38	mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the house,	
39	sà' mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the aerial root-clump	
40	tòdan ùy ìhàn,	house,	
41	ãh nóop b'ay.	to him of the hollow trees,	
		I speak (to them).	
42	Hègàn yít yi' píd,	Thus also to the bushmaster,	Bushmaster: <i>Lachesis muta</i> is a
43	hègàn,	the bushmaster,	venomous pit viper
44	tòd mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the hollow tree house,	
45	m'aj' mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the clay house,	
46	sà'an ùy ìhàn,	to him of the aerial root-clump,	
47	ãh nóop b'ay.	I speak (to them).	
48	Yíd' àhàn, hìdn!h, yíd' àhàn yúp,	To them, their-, to them,	
49	tàk pũ'úk b'ò'ót,	with this latex sap coca gourd,	
50	mòt tàk pũ'úk b'ò'ót,	with this rubber-tree coca gourd,	<i>Hevea sp.</i>
51	hídàn wed no' pem d'ah hi yí'ip	I feed them as they all are seated there	
	b'ay.	in a group/line.	
52	Hídñ!h mòy k'òdan d'ò' k'òd ni yě	Inside their house, I make them enter	
	pem yí'!h.	inside and sit down.	
	Yin!h!y, hãwäg hũ' sápát,	In this way, with bodies full of	
53		introspection (quiet, reflective),	
	hídàn sáp bì' pem yí'ib'ay.	I make them sit with their bodies thus.	
54	Hãwäg hũ' hũt tęg,	The cigar of introspection,	
55	hãwäg hũ' pũ'úk b'ò',	the coca gourd of introspection,	
56	ãh wed no' pem yí'ib'ay.	these I feed them while seated.	
57	Yup wed nó'op yúwúh,	Feeding them thus,	
58	pũ'úk wed yó',	having eaten coca,	
59	hũt un' yó' mah,	having smoked tobacco,	
60	y!n'!h no n!h híd pem yí'!h.	thus they sit saying nothing.	
61	Híd tæg sá' k! peméy,	Seated with his jaws stuck together,	
62	!nàn tih k'ăc d'ò' tể'ếp.	so that he (snake) fails to bite us.	
63			

64	3. Yí no yó', nìd'ànhàn, bǎg n'àn nóop b'ay.	Having said that, to those, then to those black bees (I) speak.	
65	Bǎg d'ǎh n!h,	The black bees',	
66	yìd'ǎh n!h ǎg tēg,	their drinking gourd,	
67	yìd'ǎh n!h d'apb'ùy	their weapons,	
68	ǎh ta' yí'ib'ay.	I surround (all these).	
69	Yúp bǎg d'ǎh !nàn hìd ǎg tēg k'op ũh níy mah,	It is said that bees may offer us their gourd	Gourd of ayahuasca (<i>Banisteriopsis caapi</i>)
70	tìwít in hám tèn,	when we are going along the path,	
71	mīg k'èt k'ò' yó' in noh wöb tubúdúh.	thus wandering crazed/dizzy we collapse on the ground.	
72	Hìdn!h hōp kāk súk,	To their fishing rods,	
73	hìdn!h d'apb'ùy ǎh nò yí'ib'ay,	to their weapons I speak,	
74	yìd'ànhàn b'ay, yup bǎg n'àn b'ayáh.	to them, to these black bees.	
75	Nup wìw!h n'àn b'ay,	To these <i>wìw!h</i> wasps,	
76	yít yì' p!d.	(I speak) in the same way again.	
77	B'áw n'àn,	To the common lanceheads,	<i>Bothrops atrox</i>
78	b'ab'áw n'àn,	to the worm lizards,	<i>Amphisbaena sp.</i>
79	hìdn!h ǎg tēg,	their drinking gourds,	
80	ǎh ta' yí'ib'ay, nóha',	again I surround them, I say,	
81	hìdn!h d'apb'ùy.	(I surround) their weapons.	
82	Y!n'!h d'ǎh !nàn ǎg tēg k'ópóh,	Those ones offer us drink,	
83	Yúp in ǎg na' hámaw!t mah yúp,	Thus while we are going on (as if)	
84	in sedew noh yet yó'	drunk, they say,	
85	in noh wóbóh, nóha'.	we slip and fall flat, and we lie there fallen, I say.	
86	4. Yí no yó', yìd'ǎh tēgd'ùh húp d'ànhàn nóop b'ayáh.	Having said thus, I speak then to those tree-people.	
87	Tēgd'ùh húp d'ànhàn,	To the tree-people,	
88	mùn mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the caatinga house,	
89	s'ùg mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the forest house,	
90	b'òk mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the swamp house,	

91	pàç mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the stone/mountain house.	Action of movement: gathering listed people and making them enter and stand in the house
92	Tìn!h d'apb'ùy, tìn!h d'apb'ùy dō' ne	His weapons, having gathered together	
93	yó' p!d, mòy k'òd só' dō' k'òd ni yē k'et y! 'ib'ay.	all his weapons, (I) make him enter the house and stand inside.	
94	Yid'āh n!h, hìdn!h,	Those ones', their (things),	Repetition of list of entities from the start of the movement
95	tìn!h hū̃t sǎg,	having gathered together	
96	tìn!h d'apb'ùy	his tobacco pieces,	
97	ni hū̃' dō' ne yó'	all of his weapons,	
98	in yāhā' yē k'et y! 'ib'ay.	we cast them down to enter and stand (inside the houses).	
99	S'ùg mòyan ùy d'āhàn b'ayáh,	Then to those of the forest house,	
100	mùn mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the caatinga house,	
101	b'òk mòyan ùy ìhàn,	to him of the swamp house,	
102	éyét b'íyì' d'ō' ne yē k'et hū̃' y! 'íy.	(I) gather all of these together to enter and stand completely (within the houses).	
103	Hùh mòy k'òd só' p!d hìd n'àn d'ō' kòd ni yē pem y! 'íh. Yúp páhap āh nó yì',	I cause them all to enter and be seated inside the river-rapids house.	
104	pū̃'ũk b'ò',	Thus as I have just spoken,	
105	h!dàn háwǎg hū̃' pū̃'ũk b'ò',	the coca gourd,	
106	hǎwǎg hū̃' wèd,	the coca gourd of their	
107	t!hàn wèd no' yē pem y! 'íy p!d.	introspection,	
108		the food (coca) of their introspection,	
109	Yín!h!y ùh ìnàn kēy d'āh way n!h yisó',	I feed (this) to them as they enter and are seated.	
110	pū̃'ũk b'íyì' wèd yó' tìh pem y! 'i-ìh, nóha'.	With this may he not come out from there to watch us; having eaten only/all the coca he remains seated, I say.	

111	5. Yí no yó' b'ay, hidnìh kōtōw tēg b'ay.	Having said thus, (I come to) their dance staffs.	
112	Hidnih kōtōw tēg,	Their dance staffs,	
113	nid'āh tēgd'ūh húp d'āh nìh kōtōw	those tree-people's staffs,	
114	tēg,	those (malignant) shadow-people's	
115	b'at!b' d'āh nìh kōtōw tēg,	staffs,	
	yid'āh nìh yup kōtōw tēg āh ta'	I then surround their staffs.	
	yí'ib'ay.		
116	Yin!h!y hidnìh kōtōw tēgēt,	Like this, with their dance staffs,	
117	hid kōtōwōy mah yúp,	like this they pound (down on) us,	
118	yúp tìwít in ham ten, in k!k!n!w!h.	they say,	
		when we go along the path, we are in	
		pain.	
119	ínàn hid siw'ípip, ínàn hid siw'ípip	By their whipping us, it must be by	
	ūh in k!k!ni-īh, nóha'.	their whipping us that we are in pain,	
		I say.	
120	Hídnìh kōtōw tēgēt mah, ínàn hid	With their staffs, it's said, they pound us,	
121	kōtōwōh,	their <i>sāy</i> imbaúba (<i>Cecropia</i> sp.)	
122	sāy tēg kōtōw tēg,	staffs,	
	wag tēg kōtōw tēg āh nóop b'ay,	their <i>wag</i> imbaúba staffs (<i>Cecropia</i>	
123	núwàn hidàn āh ta' hū' yì'iy, nóha'.	<i>sciadophylla</i> ?), I say (these),	
		I completely surround this for them, I	
		say.	
124	Hidnìh mòy só' píd yāhā' yē k'ēt	I cast down (the staffs) (and cause the	Quem esta entrando na casa? os seres?
	yí'íy.	beings?) to enter and stand inside	os bastões deles? o benzedor ele
		their house.	mesmo?
125	6. Yít āh nóot yì' āh hámap té!	Thus saying I go on until,	
126	yít nóoy b'íyì' ham yó' té!	Thus saying all this, going on until,	
127	mòy wídhām téēway,	I arrive at a house,	
128	sáp hayáman wídhām téēway,	I arrive at another community,	
129	hút tōh meh n'àn āh nóop b'ayáh.	now I speak to the little tobacco	
		caterpillars.	

130	Hũt tồh meh n!h,	The little caterpillars',	
131	yúp tin!h tiwít, ãh yéay yúp,	by their path, I enter,	
132	sáp hayámát ãh yééwayáh.	I enter another community.	
133	Hũt tồh meh n!h,	The little caterpillars',	
134	tin!h tiwít yě yố' b'ay,	by their path having entered,	
135	hayám nomih tẽh n!h,	the little village chief's,	
136	yúwút tin!h !b' käd mi' sỏ'	with this under his stool of life,	
137	ãh hup hấwäg hup yäd yě k'ết yí'!h,	I enter and stand, hiding my blow-	
	nóha'.	spirit.	
138	Hup hũt tẽg ni yě k'ếtéy,	Possessing cigars, (they) enter and stand,	
139	hup käd ni yě pem yí'!h, noha'.	possessing stools, (they) enter and are	
		seated, I say.	
140	Yuwut yě pem yố' ãh way yí'ib'ay	Having entered and been seated there, I	
	hày'ah sỏ'.	go out, to the outside.	
141	Yid'ãh yỏh sis!d meh d'ãh n!h,	The small <i>sisid</i> marbled swamp eels',	Swamp eels: <i>Symbranchus marmoratus</i> , hermaphroditic eels who live both in the water and on land
142	hidn!h sápát.	their bodies.	
143	Ów meh d'ãh n!h,	The small lizards',	
144	hidn!h sápát,	with their bodies,	
145	hup sáp ni yố', way k'ếtẽp b'ay,	after having embodied myself (in	
146	nóha'.	them) (I) go out and stand, I say.	
147	Ów d'ãh n!h sápát,	With the small lizards' bodies,	Rufous-collared sparrow: <i>Zonotrichia</i> <i>capensis</i> Chestnut-bellied seed finch: <i>Sporophila</i> <i>angolensis</i>
148	bỏ meh d'ãh n!h sápát,	with the little rufous-collared	
149	síw d'ãh n!h sápát,	sparrows' bodies,	
150	hup sáp ni way k'ết yí'!h.	with the chestnut-bellied seed-	
151		finches' bodies,	
		embodying myself (in them) (I) go out	
		and stand.	
150	7. Yúwút way k'ết yố' b'ay,	After having gone out and stood there,	
151	nid'ãh yỏh sis!d d'ãh sỏ' d'öb	(I) go down toward the water, to	
	d'ö'öp b'ay.	where the <i>sisid</i> marbled swamp eels	

		are.	
152	Yôh sisid!t,	With the <i>sisid</i> marbled swamp eel,	
153	yôh sis!d n!h,	the <i>sisid</i> marbled swamp eel's,	
154	yúwút tìn!h, tìn!h sápat,	with this, with his body,	
155	yúwút tìn!h hũt tềgét,	with this, with his cigar,	
156	yúwút tìn!h d'apb'ùy,	with this, his weapons,	
157	hup d'apb'ùy ni yố',	having possessed the weapons,	
158	yúwút tìn!h hũt tềgét,	with this, with his cigar,	
159	hũt tềg ni yố',	having possessed the cigar,	
160	ãh hup sápat ni yě k'et yí'!h,	embodying myself (in him) I enter and stand.	
161	Tìn!h moy k'òdót b'ay, yôh sis!d!t b'ay.	Inside his house, with the <i>sisid</i> marbled swamp eel.	
162	Yôh sis!d!t yě yố' b'ay, yôhót b'ay.	Having entered where the <i>sisid</i> marbled swamp eel is, with the marbled swamp eel.	
163	Yôhót yě k'et yố' b'ay yúp,	Having entered and stood with the <i>sisid</i> marbled swamp eel,	
164	hày'ah sỏ' ãh way áyap b'ay,	I go back out to the outside,	
165	s'ug sỏ' b'ay.	to the forest.	
166	8. B'ib'ib' mehét b'ay.	(Thus) again with the little grey squirrel.	
167	B'ib'ib' meh n!h,	The little grey squirrel's,	Squirrels inhabit both the land and the trees
168	yúwút tìn!h hũt tềg,	with this, with his cigar,	
169	yúwút tìn!h mòy k'òd,	with this, inside his house,	
170	mòy k'òd ni yě k'et yí'!p b'ay.	(I) enter and stand inside the house.	
171	Y! no yố',	Having said that,	
172	b'ib'ib' mehàn no yố',	having spoken to the little grey squirrel,	
173	wòmàn b'ay.	I speak to the red squirrel.	
174	Wòmót, wòmàn no yố',	With the red squirrel, having spoken	Interpretação certo??
175	yúwút tìn!h hũt tềg,	to the red squirrel,	Shamanic action with the benign
176	yúwút tìn!h mòy k'òd,	with this, his cigar,	creatures is the opposite of that with the

177	hup mòy k'öd ni yě k'ët yí'ip b'ay.	with this, inside his house, to be inside the house (I) enter and stand.	malignant ones: instead of making them enter their houses to be neutralized, the shaman makes them come outside (while he himself goes in?)
178	Yít in nóóy,	Having said that,	
179	in nó tèn mah yúp inan pè',	when we speak (thus), it's said, for	
180	sáp hayàmát in ham k'ố' tèn, pè' in kay' yě n'í'h'íh, nóha'.	us, pain/illness, when we go walking to another community, pain/illness does not embrace us, I say.	
181	Sáp hayàm ínàn kěy hipāh n'íháh tíh- hā'.	At another community, (the pain/illness and/or beings that transmit it?) does not recognize us.	
182	Yínih yố', yúp wòm d'āhát way k'ët	Thus, after having gone out and stood	
183	yố',	with the red squirrels,	
184	yúp wòm d'āhát yě k'ët yố', āh widyě d'ō' kādwayawáy, yíkán.	having entered and stood with the red squirrels, I arrive entering and cause them to go out quickly, (from?) there. I go on to the forest.	
185	S'ùg só' āh hámayáh.	With the ocelots,	ocelot: <i>Leopardus sp.</i>
186	Ya'am téh d'āhát,	with these, with the stump jaguar,	
187	níd'āh, d'íd ya'ámát,	I go again to take (them), I say.	
188	āh ham d'ố' b'ayáh, nóha'.		
189	9. Yít ham d'ố' yố' b'ay,	So, having gone taking (i.e. carried out the actions of the spell),	
190	yít ham yố', yíd'āh wòm d'āhát,	having gone, having gone with those	
191	ya'ám d'āhát ham yố', té!	red squirrels, with the jaguars, until!	
192	Yúwàn yúp hâyắắ, kồg-pupú' yồh dềh.	(I arrive) at this um, medicinal juice of the cebus-monkey passionflower (<i>Passiflora acuminata</i>).	

193	Kòg-pupú' yòh dēh yàgát,	With the hammock of the cebus-	Tradução: <i>hup yàg ni yě k'ǎ'ayáh</i> como 'possuir e entrar'?
194	hup yàg ni yě k'ǎ'ayáh,	monkey passionflower,	
195	yúp kòg-pupú' s'ó k'òdan	(I) possess the hammock and enter	
196	hup yàg ni yě k'ǎ' y!'ayáh.	to hang (inside it),	
		inside the flower of the passionflower,	
		(I) possess the hammock and enter	
		to hang (inside it).	
197	Hup háwäg hup yäd yě k'ǎ' y!'ayáh.	Hiding my blow-spirit, (I) enter to hang	
		(inside it).	
198	Yàg púp s'ó k'òdan,	(As a) hammock-tick inside the	
199	hup yàg, háwäg hup yäd yě k'ǎ'	flower,	
	y!'h,	the hammock, thus (my) blow-spirit	
200	hup yàg ni yě' k'ǎ' y!' ayáh.	hides itself, entering to hang (inside	
		it),	
		(I) possess the hammock and enter to	
		hang (inside it).	
201	Bahad n!h!p, hũt tègét,	Invisible, with the cigar,	
202	bahad n!h!p yàgát,	with the hammock of invisibility,	
203	hup yàg ni yě k'ǎ' y!' ayáh.	(I) possess the hammock and enter to	
		hang (inside it).	
204	Ya'ap tiwít ham k'ò'an ùy yúwúh.	That is all for the path-going	
		(incantation).	
205	Yít tih ham k'étéh, yít tih tohóóh.	It goes on thus up to here, and thus it	
		ends.	
206	Tiwít hám d'áh in hup bi'id n'ih,	(It is) for us to bless those who go	
207	sáp hayámát ham d'áh in hup bi'id	along the path,	
	n'ih.	(it is) for us to bless those who go to	
		another community.	
208	Yít tih tohóóh.	Thus it ends.	

Childbirth Incantation

This incantation was performed by Sr. Ponciano Salustiano Ramos in the Tat Dēh community. It was recorded and transcribed in 2011 by Danilo Paiva Ramos in 2011, and further transcribed and translated by Patience Epps in 2016. It is an example of *ta' bi'id*, or “surround blessing”, and is used to protect the mother and child during childbirth. The incantation traces a journey to the cosmologically-significant “Lake of Milk” as the shaman interacts with ancestral houses and the entities within them (Ramos, 2013, p. 295). This journey parallels the journey of the unborn child, who must be protected from dangerous interaction with other beings as it moves toward birth (Ramos, 2013, p. 295).

Tēh Bi'id: Childbirth Incantation Ponciano Salustiano Ramos, Tat Dēh, 2011

		Notes
<p>Tìh sùm ǎy d'ǎh, híd tēh nì tēg kó d'ǎh. Tìh sùm tēh nì tēep ǎyanap, hǔ d'ǎh n!h, hǔ d'ǎh n!h, hǔ pōg d! ' n'àn b'!yì' ǎh do' yì' b!h, nóha'.</p>	<p>The women who are beginning, before they have children, For the woman who will have a child for the first time, of all the animals, of all the animals, I always go listing all the biggest animals, I say.</p>	
<p>Hũyáw n'àn, tōhód' n'àn, tōh n'àn, tǎh n'àn, ǎh do' y! ' b!h. Sǎd'ǎh hũ tēh meh n'àn mah do' hũ' y! '!h, nóha'. Tòk sá' pōg d! ' n'àn b'!yì' ǎh dó'óh.</p>	<p>The pacas, the caititus, the pigs, the tapirs, I always list them all. They say that other (people) have already listed all the small animals, I say. I list all those who have large pelvises.</p>	<p>Large animals listed in descending size order</p>

<p>Hũyáw n!h, hũyáw áy n!h, tín!h tòk kakáhát, yuwàn tìh àyàn tòk kakáh b!’ hipéméh.</p> <p>Tìh sùm áyd'áh, sù’ tểp áyànáh, tểh ni n!h té níip áyàn, nóha’, d’aw tểh níip áyàn.</p> <p>Yúp hũyáw áy n!h, yúwút tìh tòk kakáh, tín!h tòk k’ègét, tìhàn tòk k’èg bí’ hipéméh, nóha’.</p> <p>Tìhàn d’ò’ sēsēy hipéméy.</p> <p>Hũyáwàn no yó’, hũyáwàn no yó’, tōhód’ n’àn no yó’, ayùp yì’ tểh ní n’àn b’!yì’.</p> <p>Tōhód’ áy n!h, yúwút tín!h tòk kakáhát, tìhàn tìh id d’ò’ tòk kakáh d’ò’ sēy hipéméh, nóha’.</p> <p>Tōhód’ n’àn no yó’ b’ay, tōhàn b’ay. Y!tyì’ p!d.</p> <p>Tóh áy n!h, yúwút tín!h tok kakáhát, tín!h tok kakáhát, tìhàn tìh id d’ò’ sēsēy hipémep b’ay, nóha’.</p> <p>Tín!h tòk kakáhát id d’ò’ hey hipéméh, noha’.</p> <p>Tìh sùm tểh níip áyànáh.</p> <p>Yúwàn, tōhàn no yó’ b’ay, kawáru áyàn b’ay.</p>	<p>Of the pacas, of the female pacas, between their thighs, (like) this one I make the woman sit, (likewise) between her thighs.</p> <p>For the women who begin, for the woman who will have a child, for the women who does not yet have a child, I say, for the woman who is new to having children. Of this female paca, between her thighs, with her femur, I make the woman sit with the femur (in the same way), I say. I make her sit with her legs apart. Having spoken of the paca, having spoken of the paca, having spoken of the collared peccary, of all those who have children thus (without pain). Of the female collared peccary, thus with her between-thigh area, he speaks to make her sit with her thighs apart, I say. Having spoken of the collared peccaries, thus with the white-lipped peccaries. The same again. The female white-lipped peccary, thus with her between-thigh area, with her between-thigh area, he speaks to make her (the woman) sit with her legs apart, I say. With her between-thigh area, he speaks to make her sit wide (with legs spread), I say. For the woman who has a child for the first time. For her, having spoken of the the white-lipped peccary, thus with the mare.</p>	<p>Paca > caititu > pigs > tapirs</p>
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<p>Kawáru áy n!h, yúwút, tìn!h tòk k'égét, tìn!h tòk k'égét tihàn àh d'ò' sēsēy hipéméh, nóha'.</p> <p>Yúwàn kawáru áyàn no yó', tành b'ay, b! tành, b! tành áyàn. Yúwút tìn!h tòk, tìn!h tòk k'égét, tihàn tòk k'ég bi' hipéméh, tihàn id d'ò' sēsēy hipéméy, nóha'.</p> <p>Papádáy yin'!h sud'úh, yinih yúp ũhniíy mah, áy d'áh, papad n!h hid su' y!'!h, nóha'.</p> <p>Y!n'!h hũ d'áh hid tēh ní tèn papad n!h su' y!'!y yēh níy tih!</p>	<p>Of the mare, with her femur, with her femur I make her (the woman) sit with her legs apart, I say.</p> <p>Having spoken of the mare, thus of the cow, of the cow, of the female cow.</p> <p>With that, the thigh, with her femur, I make the woman sit with the femur (in the same way), I speak to make her (the woman) sit with her legs apart, I say.</p> <p>Moaning, it seems, it is thus perhaps, they say, women, they give birth without moaning.</p> <p>These animals, when they have a baby, they give birth without moaning!</p>	<p>All these animals with large hips give birth without moaning; said to not feel pain in childbirth.</p>
<p>Yi no yó' b'ay, dēh bi'idíy hid nó n'!h b'ayáh.</p> <p>D'ó'öp tih pē' su' tēp b'ay tih papádanayáh, t!hip.</p> <p>Yi no yó' b'ay tihdó' tih hib'ah níp kā d, yúwàn id kat d'áh way y!'ip b'ay, nóha'.</p> <p>Tihdó' tih hib'ah níp kā d, h! kā dāt tih hup kād ni níp.</p> <p>Tìn!h d'ab'ùyút, tìn!h hēhēt, tìn!h tǎwäg tēgēt, tìn!h pàç wägát, tih hup hēh ni pem níp.</p> <p>Yúwàn kat d'áh way y!'!h, nóha'.</p> <p>Pö' d'áh way y!'ip b'ay yùwán, kat d'áh way y!'!h, yúp kād tih pémewàn, kat d'áh way y!'!yp!d, kat d'áh way y!'!h, nóha'.</p>	<p>Having spoken thus, they (shamans) do the water (amniotic fluid) incantation.</p> <p>With the pain of giving birth the woman moans, with this.</p> <p>Having spoken thus, the birth-stool of the child, speaking to open and make (the child) come out, I say.</p> <p>The birth-stool of the child, (the child) transforms by means of its painted stool.</p> <p>With its weapons, its belongings, its dancing staff, its (shamanic) crystal, (the child) sits with its belongings.</p> <p>I speak to open and make (the child) come out, I say.</p> <p>I make it open and (the child) come out, I make it open and come out, the one sitting on the stool, I make it open and come out, make it open and come out, I say.</p>	<p>Amniotic fluid, not medicine-liquid</p> <p>The woman's cry of pain can cause illness for the child?</p>

<p>Yúp tiyì' mah yúp yá'ap hup hēh níy, nóha'.</p> <p>Tā'áy n!h mah dāb n!h yí'!h.</p> <p>Tā'áy tih hup hēh níip, tìn!h hup b! kã dāt, tìn!h yawi' kã dāt, tìn!h hup b! kã dāt, tih péméy yúp.</p> <p>tā'áy, tā'áy hēg ham hipāh n!h!h, nóóy hid, yúp dó'owōh.</p> <p>Tìn!h hēh tih hup woy yí' péméh, yúp kã d tih hup woy péméy mah, nóha'.</p> <p>Yín!h yúp hid yúuwút, tìn!h hēhēt, eyètyi' kat d'āh way yí'!h, tih pémep kã d, tihdó' tih masa níp kã d.</p>	<p>It is said that the boy child has all these things, I say.</p> <p>It is said that the girl has fewer.</p> <p>The girl is with her belongings, with her person-making stool, with her stool painted with <i>yawi</i> ' fern, with her person-making stool, the girl sits, the girl does not know/want to go (out) quickly, they say, that child.</p> <p>It (child) sits keeping her belongings to herself, they say it stays sitting on the bench, keeping them to itself, I say.</p> <p>As they wait, with their belongings, I open to make (it all) come out, the stool (on which the child) is sitting, the child's birth-stool.</p>	<p>samambaia: type of fern used to produce paint</p>
<p>Yi no yó', yi no yó', yúp dēh bi'ídih, hid nó n'!h b'ay.</p> <p>Yúp tihdó' na' xí'!y tih, hid nóow!tay yúp yōh dēh hid dó'ohā'.</p>	<p>Having spoken thus, having spoken thus, they bless the liquid, they speak thus.</p> <p>The child will die unless they speak to list the medicine-water.</p>	<p>Potentially amniotic water or medicine-liquid</p>
<p>K'õ g pupú' dēh yōh dēh, k'õ g pupú' dēh yōh dēh, tat sípĩp dēh, tat pógóp dēh, yúwút tihàn yōh dēh bi' k'ā' d'āh, tihàn sáp dēh s'om k'ā' d'āh wáyayáh, nóha', yúp tihdó' só'.</p>	<p>Passion-fruit medicine-water, passion-fruit medicine-water, the small fruit's juice, the large fruit's juice, with that the ones that hang making the water-medicine for her, with the water I wash her body to make it open and (the child) come out, I say, there where the child is.</p>	
<p>Yi no yó', yúpyi' no yó' b'ay, yín!h yi no yó', buhúh dēh, buhúh dēh yōh dēh t, k'õ g kinim dēh yōh dēhēt, pèj p!g dēh yōh dēhēt,</p>	<p>Having spoken thus, having spoken all this, having spoken in this way, the water of the forest tree-grape, with the medicine water of the forest tree-grape, with the medicine</p>	<p>titi monkey: <i>Callicebus sp.</i> abiu: <i>Pouteria caimito</i> cucura: <i>Pourouma cucura</i> umari: <i>Poraqueiba sericea</i></p>

<p>p̣ṭg p̣ōg dēh yōh dēhēt, wahnáw dēh yōh dēhēt, tihàn tih sáp dēh s'om k'ā' d'āh wáyayáh, nóha'.</p> <p>Yṭ in no n!h tèn mah yúp, tihdó' sáp wág na' y! ' tán, na' y! ' !h, nóha'.</p> <p>Y!t ham n!h!y tih nóoy yúp, dēh bi'id no n!h!y yúp, dó' n'àn tih bi'idíy nóha'.</p> <p>Yi no yó', y!t tih nóop, yi no méhep b'!yi' m! ' yúp tih su' tók tèn tih su' y! ' !y b'ay.</p>	<p>water of the titi-monkey-fist tree-grape, with the medicine water of the umari tree-grape, with the medicine water of the great cucura, with the medicine water of the abiu, with water I wash her body to make it open and (the child) come out, I say.</p> <p>If we do not speak thus, they say, the child will die later, dies, I say.</p> <p>Thus goes our speech, we say the water-incantation like that, thus he (shaman) blesses the children, I say.</p> <p>Having spoken thus, saying this, while saying just all this, if she is going to give birth, she gives birth.</p>	
<p>Yúp tih sú'úy kēy yó' b'ay, tih sú'úy kēy yó' b'ay, tih sú'up tih way tēg só' b'ay, hūh tih bi'idíp b'ay, wōhōt tih bi'idíh, wōhōt.</p> <p>Yúp, tih sú'up tih way tēg só' b'ay, yúp wōhōt tih sú'up b'ay.</p> <p>Nid'āh, nid'āh n'an-kób d'āh n!h, hidn!h kapi' dēh ā g tēg, hidàn ta' y! ' ip b'ay, nóha'.</p> <p>N'an-kób n'àn, n'ān āw d'āh n!h, hidn!h kapi' dēh āg tēg, wōwōw d'āh n!h kapi' dēh āg tēg, m! ' d'āh n!h kapi' dēh āg tēg, hidàn ta' y! ' ip b'ay, nóha'.</p>	<p>Thus since she is giving birth, since she is giving birth, there where (the child) emerges as it is born, he blesses tobacco, he blesses with resin, with resin.</p> <p>Thus, there where (the child) emerges as it is born, she gives birth with resin.</p> <p>These, these fleas', their caapi-drinking instrument (gourd), I encircle them (the beings/their gourds), I say.</p> <p>The fleas, the chigoe fleas, their caapi-drinking instrument (gourd), their caapi-drinking instrument (gourd) of the bumblebees, their caapi-drinking instrument (gourd) of the earthworms, I encircle them (the beings/their gourds), I say.</p>	<p>chigoe flea: <i>Tunga penetrans</i></p>

<p>Dó'öp, dó'öwàn b'ayáh, t!hyi' hid bi' ni tánáh, ãh nó b'ayáh, nóha'.</p> <p>Dó'd n'ân, bab'âw n'ân, yid'âh n!h ã g tęg tih ta' y! '!h, nóha'.</p> <p>H!n'!h n'ân in ta' n!h tèn mah yúp, yid'âh n!h, hidn!h kapi' dēh ã g tęg, yid'âh hidn!h ã g tęg k'ópóy mah, yúp dó' d'âh hid ot mígh, nóha'.</p> <p>Yin!h!y y!t ham n!h!y tih no yó', yúp yi' só' hidân ta' hū' y! '!p b'ay, wöwö w n'ân, ów n'ân, m'! n'ân, b'ab'âw d'âh n!h ã g tęg, tih ta' hū' y! '!p b'ay, nóha'.</p>	<p>The child, for the child, that they will do thus (evil), I speak (thus), I say.</p> <p>The big earthworms, the worm-lizards, he encircles their caapi-drinking instrument (gourd), I say.</p> <p>For all those beings, it's said, if we do not encircle them, their caapi-drinking instrument (gourd), they offer their gourd (to the children), they say, and the children become crying-crazy, I say.</p> <p>Thus having spoken on in this way, I encircle them all there, the bumblebees, the lizards, the earthworms, the caapi-drinking instrument (gourd) of the two-headed snakes, I encircle them all, I say.</p>	<p>worm-lizard: <i>Amphisbaenia</i></p>
<p>Yin!h b'ay yúp, wöhh, wöhhót tih dóhóp, wöhh b'é' tih yāhā' yet ham d'âh b'ayáh, nóha'.</p> <p>Yúp b'ay yúp dó'ân, tihdó'ân tih su' tē t tih yúp wöhh tih buy yétep b'é' tih yāhā' hiyétyáh, nóha'.</p> <p>Wáh b'ah b'é', wáh b'ah b'é', siwib b'ah b'é', k'ā b b'ah b'é', siwib wöhh b'é', mèt siwib wöhh b'é', tih yāhā' hiyétyáh nóha', wöhh b'é' tih nóowóh.</p> <p>Yúp b'é', yi' p!d tih id d'ö' yāhā' kōt hik'ē tēp b'ay nóha', yúp k'öd yúp dó'öwàn tih sú'u-ñh.</p>	<p>Thus, resin, enchanting with resin, he throws down a fence of resin (around the mother), I say.</p> <p>Then, for the child, when the child is born, he (shaman) throws down the fence of resin-smoke, I say.</p> <p>The sehe-palm splint fence, the sehe-palm splint fence, the bacaba-palm splint fence, the maripa-palm splint fence, the frog-bacaba palm splint fence, the agouti frog-bacaba palm splint fence, he throws down the fence, he speaks of the resin-fence.</p> <p>He speaks to make the fence be thrown to stand erect all around (the house), I say,</p>	<p>pari: flexible fence made of splints that is placed in water to direct fish into traps</p> <p>sehe palm: <i>Oenocarpus bataua</i>, <i>Jessenia bataua</i> bacaba: <i>Oenocarpus bacaba</i> inajá, maripa palm: <i>Attalea maripa</i> siwib wóh: type of bacaba with small fruit</p>

<p>yúuwút mah yúp dó'ōwàn tih tújúh, nóha'.</p> <p>Yúwàn yúp wedó hup tēh n!h tuj tēg pō'ah só' d'ō' k'ōd ni sak k'ā' y!ip b'ay, ta' sak k'ā' y!iy b'ay, nóha'.</p>	<p>might find his torch, it's said, with that he illuminates the child, I say.</p> <p>This, the torch of the son of the sun-man, (the shaman?) goes up to hang it inside (the house), he encounters it and goes up to hang it, I say.</p>	
<p>Yi no yó', yi no yó' b'ay, tih ág tēgēwàn, yúp b'ay tin!h wòn', tin!h wòn', tih widyéēp ág tēg tih dó'op b'ay.</p>	<p>Having spoken thus, having spoken thus, that which she (the woman) will drink, her mingau, her mingau, he lists that which she (the woman) will drink when she enters.</p>	<p>Referencing the woman's diet, chosen for protective properties</p>
<p>Wòn', h!ap, nùh b'à' tih bi' dó'ōh, wōwō w tig, wōwō w tig nùh b'à', pē d tig nùh b'à', kók'oh tig nùh b'à', k'ā b tig nùh b'à', kayàk dó tig nùh b'à', yúwàn yúp nùh b'à' tih nag s'id y! b'ayáh, nóha'.</p>	<p>Mingau, all the types, he goes listing the tapioca flatbreads, the (one of) the bumblebee manioc, the tapioca flatbread of the bumblebee manioc, the tapioca flatbread of the cunuri manioc, the tapioca flatbread of the winged leaf-cutter ant manioc, the tapioca flatbread of the maripa palm manioc, the tapioca flatbread of the red manioc, he (shaman) washes the oil of those tapioca flatbreads for her (the woman), I say.</p>	<p>kók'oh: tanajura, winged female maniwara cunuri: <i>Micrandra spruceana</i></p>
<p>Tih tòh d'āh n!h hēy'-b'ah tih ta' y! b'ayáh, nóha'.</p> <p>Yid'āh tòh d'āh n!h kapí' dēh ág tēg tih ta' y! b'ayáh, nóha'.</p> <p>Yúp wòn' tih nó'op b'ayáh.</p> <p>Yúwàn yúp, yi no yó' b'ay, yúp wòn' b'iyi', wòn' b'iyi' tih ág tēg b'iyi' dōh yó' b'ay.</p>	<p>He encircles the scissors of the caterpillars, I say.</p> <p>He encircles the ayahuasca-drinking cuia of the caterpillars, I say.</p> <p>He gives (the gourd) of mingau back to her.</p> <p>To her (the woman), having spoken thus, having enchanted all the mingau, all the mingau that she will drink.</p>	

<p>O ayùp wág tih hup hisih túk tèn tih hup his!h!h. Y!t tih hup his!h!h, yúp tih hup hisih pémeḡ, ayùp wág tih hup hisih pem hũy'ah yup bùḡ k'et tih d'ó' áyahā'. Tìhàn hũh s'om téayáh. Yì no yúp tìhàn tih hũh s'om téēway bùḡ k'et tih d'ó'öp b'ay.</p>	<p>Or one day, if she (the woman) is going to menstruate (for the first time after giving birth), she will. Thus she menstruates, while she is sitting with menstruation, the day after she sits with menstruation, he/she (shaman or woman?) takes up the ucubarana leaf. In order to bathe her (woman or child?). Saying this, taking up the ucubarana leaf in order to bathe her.</p>	
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